535 for dancing easily. But they are good players.
533 Finally I said I must go, and Gaspersz made another speech about the professor from America. Off we went to great flourishes. An hour drive in heavy rain got me home by 1:00 A.M.

The next day, Friday, October 21. Gaspersz
361 and Rehatta came to the hotel at 10:30 and we
●124 talked about possible kampongs. There are few Mohammedan kampongs on the road. These are Batumerah (but it is practically a suburb of Ambon and the only Mohammedan kampong on Leitimor), Laha (new), Tial-Islam (the other half is Tial-Serani, and this double kampong attracted me, but it is off the road), Tulehu, Titu, and Wakal(this is small and has no school; it is practically a suburb of Hitu). Hitu is on the north coast and is far over on a bad road. It has perhaps two thousand inhabitants. Tulehu is on the east coast, below Waai, and convenient, but has a population of four thousand. I'm still wondering. Then we went down to the south from Ambon, along with a young Mohammedan radja from Wakal. We went to the last negori, a very attractive place, Latuhalat. Then we went back to the north stopping at Eri And Amahusu. Eri is the only relatively small one but it is not very attractive. Latuhalat is pretty and the deputy Radja (the new Radja has not yet been installed) who is also the Kepala soa was not there, but we talked with his agreeable wife. She said it would be hard to get an assistant. The same story held true at Amahusu, where the Radja said
585 much the same thing. I met a bride there who
534 was young and pretty and had been married the
535 night before. The second feast day will be tonight, and we are to come to see the dancing and hear the tatabuang, the Ambon type of gamelan with ten to twelve gongs. Also, Rehatta said that he would get the Hitu Radja to fix up for

[i.e., at Amahusu--Analyst]

A

554 622 565 The Radja of Amahusu has a hereditary title, but he is an orang kaya, a second level ruler (the ranking is Radja, orang kaya, and patih).

We are going to attend church in Latuhalat on 124 Sunday. Next Sunday we will attend a church in Amahusu. I think this may be a good kampong for me. It has a population of approximately five hundred people of mixed occupations, fishers, farmers, and employees. It is hard to get assistants, however.

T

October 22, 1949: I went to Tulehu, a 622 Mohammedan kampong on the east coast of Hitu, 124 in the afternoon. There is a big mosque here and the Radja, a chunky fellow, seemed at first to be not too cordial. Later on, however, he became very jolly and friendly. He is a semi-Negroid in type. He received us in the foregallery of his large house. Several men had 623 assembled there including the kampong notables, for example the kepala soa. This saniri negri (note Ceram word) includes the radja, the assistant (?) radja, the kepala soa, and the toa-[576] toa. I noted at once the much greater respect that these Mohammedans show when contrasted with the straightforward Christians. They are much more like the Buginese. They bowed low and crouched before the radja and held the right wrist with the left hand as they shook hands 124 with me. We had quite a talk with the Radja 622 and he called his scribe, a serious young lad named Gani, to read over my schedules and see whether he could be my assistant. We talked a bit about the culture and I could see that he and Gaspersz were very friendly. There is evidently no trouble between the Christians and Mohammedans here.

000 It is very interesting to hear the bahasa

T It is very interesting to hear the bahasa
197 tanah [the local language], which is used most often in the Hitu kampong. Even the children speak it. It is practically the same as on Ceram, and it's certainly far from Malay. It is the language of the family names and place names here and that is why they are hard for me to remember. It sounds completely alien.

582 The Radja said that adat is kept much more in
178 Mohammedan than in Christian kampongs and Gaspersz
182 agreed. Still, some things are not that way. For example, the Christians keep the old taboo (?) on family endogamy (Can this be? If so it is very interesting. [RK says yes later on]) more than the Mohammedans, who follow agama rules only. But even the Christians have to change somewhat in this regard. For example, there are so many of the Soumokil clan in Saparua that they have to inmarry.

505 From here one can see Ceram clearly. It is mountainous and only about twelve miles, or three hours and fl. 2.00, from here by dugout. Motor boats leave here for there and Saparua and the other islands.

161 This is the biggest negri in population in
361 Ambon Island. The population is about four thousand. Nearly all the houses are along about three parallel streets along the shore. But the Radja says that the inland areas have Binongko (from Buton) living with their gardens.

[764] We talked about things like funeral customs
● 124 and the Radja told me that many of the old practices remain despite Mohammedanism. He asked me a keen question when he asked me whether I favored keeping the old adat or changing. I dodged. He reads papers and is interested in
668 politics. For example he told me how progressives in East Indonesian circles such as the East Indonesian parliament are speaking against

185 on sago and that there is no need for clothing at all. Thus they could be self-sufficient. I pointed out that this was possible but that the G-string and sago type of culture would not be able to provide for schools, etc. That is why they need money from the western part of Indonesia to make East Indonesia anything except a peasant land. He agrees absolutely, and I get the idea that the constant stressing of the point that one can eat at least is a kind of whistling in the dark because they are so anxious about the future.

T & A

● 124 115 During the second week I got under way gradually, but had to cut out this constant visiting, etc., which D. J. Gaspersz and C. Rehatta thought was good for me. I went to the two kampongs, Tulehu and Amahusu, a few times, and got the two assistants to start work. The one in Tulehu is Gani, the Radja's scribe and a very clever fellow. He works with me in the Radja's front pavilion, the Radja usually being present at the same time. The one in Amahusu is a construction boss, in building, road work, etc. I have not yet got his name. On further acquaintance he too becomes better and better. He too is serious and works very hard and steadily. It is notable how these fellows settle down to the schedule and whenever I come there they are ready with the tables and are working constantly. They understand most of the questions well. For the really old adat rules they have to ask the older men, and I notice that the two radjas, the Radja of Amahusu who is perhaps fifty-five years old and the Radja of Teluhu who is perhaps forty-five to fifty, know a lot about the old ways.

[622] 161 621 The Radja in Amahusu is also kepala soa and kepala dati. His rank, however, is only that of orang kaya. The one in Tulehu is a real radja,

433 story: We don't care.] "We have food enough;
185 nobody starves; we can survive." But that is all, I'd add. And Resink had a good point when he said that people will some day expect more. These people seem to be looking for a new colonialism in the backward Moluccas with the Ambonese in charge. They also look to New Guinea as a field for Ambonese enterprise and want this to be included in the Moluccas.

144 I am constantly impressed by the Negroidness of the people here.

13 The heat is terrific and the humidity extreme. The jungle is a hothouse. The growth is luxuriant. And the butterflies, flowers, plants, etc. make me realize the truth of Rumphius' title "Ambonsche Rariteitskamer."[1]

494 One other point: the buses here are incredibly
491 old, and big. How they run is a problem, and to see them and the trucks, lying beside the roads for days with tires and wheels gone and evidently not easily replaced, is quite a sight. The roads are narrow and there are no sidewalks. People walk everywhere, and it is difficult to drive, especially while trying to dodge the holes.

Nevertheless, the folk here work and seem to
181 be friendly and hospitable to the extreme. They
157 strive to please at all times. They are polite
515 and gay and they are boisterous beyond the possibilities of, for example, the Javans. In front of the hotel is the "park" and in it is a lily pond with a small waterfall outlet. People come there to wash their clothes and bathe. They make noise and laugh and sing. The temperament is different between the Papuan-Negroid eastern part of Indonesia and the Malayan western Indonesia.

●124 I started talking with the radjas and the assistants in the two kampongs by discussing maps of the kampongs, class structure, and random

[1] [i.e, Ambonese Chamber of Antiquities--Analyst]

124 materials regarding religion, adat, old survivals, etc. They are quite free to talk about everything. Once in a while they are a bit nonplused at what I know, but they soon rally and carry on. For example, at first they try the usual "no slaves" line but soon they admit everything. They seem not to resent the fact of adat revival and in fact they seem relieved to be able to talk about it with one who is sympathetic. I follow my usual rule of coming right out with everything.

A

361 578 423 621 Amahusu: This kampong is on the south border of Ambon and runs along the coast, by my measure, for about five kilometers. The assistant says six kilometers, but there is a case up now regarding the boundary, Amahusu insisting that the Benteng area (a military suburb) is in Amahusu territory while the district insists that it belongs to Ambon. My assistant says that the Amahusu dati have dusun [estates] in Benteng and can prove it. This is evidently one of those border disputes I heard about, and it is being fiercely contested. The kampong extends inland for perhaps as much as four kilometers, rising steeply from the coast of the bay. The main road [491] from Ambon to Latuhalat runs close to the shore and from this road the ridge rises steeply. Most 361 of the houses are on the ridge side of the road 245 though some are on the shore side and some are uphill. The hill is mainly gardens of spices, cocoanuts, etc. Some of the Butonese, as usual, live far uphill tending gardens. Some also, unusually, have settled in some of the cocoanut groves along the road at the north end of the kampong.

778 773 [769] Also uphill is the negri lama, about three kilometers up. There are the batu pemali which are too heavy to bring downhill, and the sacred ancestral spring.

361 T The main road runs down to the pier where one can get a motor-
[491] [504] boat to go to Amahei, Saparua, etc. Thus it is a kind of port. The main road to Waai turns left at the rather large mosque, and then goes by the radja's house, which is large and has an impressive, tiled-floor front gallery. A gong
[778] hangs here. Across from the mosque is the batu pemali placed there from the negri lama. In the
423 hills to the rear are the gardens (tubers, vege-
244 tables, etc.) and the sago groves. The former are family or individual property. The latter belong to the dati, and can be used by members of the dati with permission (of whom?). Here
[563] there are also some of the Buton people, living
[609] in their gardens. They are almost always situated in the hills. In the kampong there are Chinese stores. This is not true of Amahusu, as in the latter place they were driven out. The Christians say that they take all the money from the kampong, but the Mohammedans are more tolerant. In this negri there are actually
621 three "kampong": kampong Lama, kampong Tengah,
611 and kampong Baru. These are the only divisions
614 named. There are no set soa sections as in Ama-
624 husu. There used to be but now they are all mixed up. The Radja says that this is caused by the custom of a soa which is dying out practicing ambil anak (he knew the term), and thus bringing in men, who, with patrilineal descent, caused the confusion (but how could this be if it is real ambil anak?). Anyway, the soa are now scattered, as are the dati. There are twelve soa, but only four kepala soa as the Radja says this is enough. I wonder if this is true. /RK never found out./

622 The Radja is a jolly fellow of about forty-
273 five who drinks a lot. He nearly always served
● 124 me beer, and once (on Friday, too) several drinks
[of Tulehu.--Analyst]

124 T
622 of gin. He drinks a lot in Ambon too and does
[273] this in public. Evidently the Mohammedans here do not care much about the taboo against drinking. Or at least he doesn't. There are lots of hadji here, and one of them had been in the United States for a long while. He had also been elsewhere and speaks many languages including American English. The general air that surrounds the Radja is one of strength and good
[769] spirit. Once, when I asked him the date of the mulut feast, (when they kill fowls for the ancestors) he called across the street to an old fellow in order to get the information. He orders the people around here and they seem to like it. He is a very strong man and extremely independent. He insists on working with me and the assistant has little chance of working with me alone. The Radja orders him to get my work done.

This Mulut feast, he says, used to be cele-
769 brated by everyone, but now not so many people
825 do it. I get the idea that for each family mem-
178 ber one fowl is killed. Before the head of the fowl is cut off they whisper to it (evidently a message to the ancestors? or is it like the minyan request at Lebaran in Java?).

This kampong, probably the only one of its
778 kind, has two negri lama in the hills behind.
565 The first settlers descended from one of these,
173 but the descendants from the second one came down and became the nobles. Could this be conquest? He said at first that the first settlers had nobility too but that theirs was swamped by later settlers. He said that he came from the later group, of course. He said that the second group had a mosque before they descended. This means that in the negri lama there was a mosque.
[616] I think this must be unique. I must get the names of the two "moieties."
[i.e., of Tulahu --Analyst]

A

Amahusu: I asked about jobs here and the
463 assistant said that forty per cent of the people
162 were working in Ambon as tukang. This term is generally applied to wage workers who are not coolies. It implies those who work in camps, offices, hospitals, etc. He said twenty per cent are farmers, and twenty per cent are fishers. The rest have various occupations and do different types of work.

T

Tulehu: I started working with the schedule.
●124 It looks as though I will have to make them follow my questions if I am to get much systematic material. It turns out that the assistant is not very smart or well informed, but the Radja is really very much up on things Ambonese.

In Tulehu there is not much localization by
565 class, although the Radja says there used to be.
178 Nevertheless, in circles around his house (in
621 eleven houses) live exclusively the members of
596 the Radja's family (extended). Also, in another
614 section, all the people are still of a certain "clan" (I take it that this is near the pier), who the assistant thought were bangsawan rendah but who the Radja says are orang biasa. And the soa used to be localized but are no longer so treated. How can a local group be de-localized and still exist? This is an example of the peculiarities of Ambon. There are still kepala soa, but no more soa! I must check on this again. [see below.]

Fifty years ago the houses were bigger, says
342 the Radja. The size of the kampong has grown
178 since then, as is witnessed by the suburbs which
361 are starting up. The assistant says, and the
731 Radja agrees, that in 1931 an earthquake laid the town in waste and the people had to move out. Then they moved back and rebuilt what structures they needed.

T

167 they appear to be a bit strange, they become kam-
154 pong men again and start to cut sago, etc.

There are no difficulties in reintegration and little criticism. They usually say that there is much more excitement in the outside world than in Tulehu. They tell folks here about tall buildings, etc.

702 The Radja says that there is some reluctance
262 on the part of the Mohammedans to become soldiers
576 because of their fear that they might have to eat
784 pork. I remember how the Mayor asked one of the guests whether his chauffeur was Mohammedan, and since he was, he told the boy not to offer him any sati, which was made of ham. Evidently it hurts a Mohammedan even to be offered pork.

565 I told the hotel man about the turunan budak,
567 and he said that it would be wise for me not to
551 say much about this as a number of prominent
521 people here could be so classified. There is considerable general knowledge here as to slave descent and there must be quite a bit of gossip. He said that the people talk about the Mayor but avoid the subject in his presence. They must know about the Dutch name and its significance in terms of slave descent. The hotel man said, the Mayor's wife is part Arab. She is very good at business. I think he may be right, as she has such regular features despite her dark skin. And now I am able to see the point of her stressing to me how glad she is that both she and her husband are "one hundred per cent pure Ambonese."

A

●124 Amahusu: I went to the kampong again the
624 following afternoon, as usual. There was my assistant along with hordes of children. There was also one pretty keen young lad and an old fellow who turned out to be the head kewang of Amahusu. There are four kewang in the negri.

124 624 A This was lucky as I found out more about the land system from them.

423 621 [427] Amazing: The land of the negri is divided into two main kinds: tanah negri and tanah dati. The former belongs to the negri, and is largely undeveloped. The negri gets the income from it if it rents the land outright to lumbering interests, etc. Also there is some land here which belongs to the church. The main interest to me of the tanah negri is that any member of the negri, with the consent of the saniri and a license from this body, may develop a bit of it and then it becomes his own. He may pass this land on to his children, too. Evidently this is not a very common practice, but the Kewang said that right now he is doing it to a piece of negri land. This is the only approach to private property in land here. Furthermore, such land may not be bought or sold.

There are no negri kebon here, as in Tulehu, where the proceeds of raising cloves, etc., go into the negri treasury which is controlled by the Radja.

The tanah dati is the other main kind of land. Most of the better areas can be classified as such. There is a register of all tanah dati in the radja's office. This was made, I believe, in 1900. Each of the fourteen dati has a share of the dati land. Here are the gardens. Within the dati, each family, however large or small, has an equal share in the dati portion. Thus if there are ten families in a dati, the dati land is divided into ten sections, and each family uses one of these. But, each year, the families move on to the next section. Thus Family A will have Section one year, Section 2 the next, Section 3 the next, and so on until after ten years it will again use Section 1. This same system

A

423 is followed no matter how many families there are.
621 This, as I remember, is amazingly like the rotating system described in "Ponre." I think I have a discovery here. I must check Holleman.[1]

If the dati dies out, its land becomes lenjap [lost]. It then reverts to negri land. It can [651] then be given for example to a burger. The negri land can be rented too, and the income goes into the treasury.

423 This is an almost complete communalism of
556 land. I asked them if there were no rich or poor
●124 families and they said that there could not be any, at least in terms of land. I remarked that they were communists and got a really shocked look.

This led to the old man's saying, in regard to the fellows who have returned from other parts of Indonesia, that they talk very little about politics. We talked a bit about politics, but I noted a marked reticence. Then I started with the schedule.

565 There is no localization of class at all here,
614 nor anything else, except, evidently, the soa.

Before the war the population here was about
161 eleven hundred, but now there are only about nine
727 hundred. This is because so many of the kampong
342 people were killed during the war, either because they were taken to Ceram and were killed by the Japanese there or died there, or starved here, or were bombed, or were killed here by the Japanese. The population is rising slowly again. The number of houses today is thus somewhat smaller than before the war. There has been no change, however, as to the size of the houses.

591 There is very little moving from one house to another or from one section to another. Sons getting married build a new house, and one of them gets the paternal house when the old man

[1] [See bibliography in cat. 113--Analyst]

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123 Tulehu, for me. This is largely because the
115 Radja of Tulehu is so enthusiastic and clever. In fact, he is better than the assistant.

433 One thing which stands out more than others as a result of this type of discussion is the terrible lack of certain things in Ambon, for example, factories. This impressed all Ambonese who went to Java. There is not one factory of any kind in all Ambon.

231 I changed my tack a bit and asked why there
651 were no animals here except fowls. This is the
123 situation: there is one horse (I saw him grazing outside the hotel today; he belongs to the Dutch Economic Affairs man, Goldman); there are a few stringy steers; the Mayor's wife has two cows; there are a few ducks and geese. And there are lots of fowl. The answer was that some attempt had been made to bring in animals but that the government taxes them and if they are slaughtered one must get a permit which again involves payment. Thus the Dutch, as is the case with their salt monopoly, refuse to let the poor people have enough good food because they insist on taxing everything. (I remember the buffalo-killing tax in the Toradja country. It was paid at the death feast.) I made quite a speech about the good points of keeping pigs, how they eat anything, give much good meat, etc. Perhaps I did this largely because I would like to have some pork for a change. Anyway the Dutch are cruel in taxing food.

T

● 124 The Tulehu: The next day I carried on with the schedule. Radja was not here and thus we went a little faster.

423 The land question here is entirely different
621 from Amahusu. The twelve dati have their own sagö section. They are not divided into family

A

769 in Leitimor. He said that when the bahasa tanah
178 goes, the adat and the other old things tend to
197 go too. The bahasa tanah is certainly the vehicle for the old things.

574 On the way to Tulehu in the morning, I was hailed at Paso and a crowd of women and others asked to be taken to Tulehu as their bus had broken down and they were going to get a boat on the way to Saparua. They said they were returning the day after tomorrow, and that they had relatives there. Visiting in this fashion is evidently a common thing. The term for relatives
[601] that they used is turun menurun.

T

Tulehu: The Radja was there today and I
● 124 talked with him for a long time. The police
622 officer from Ambon came in at the end so that I had very little time to go on with the schedule. But I got a lot of information from our talk. I was able to clear up the soa-dati details on which Gani had been confused. This shows that the complexity here is hard even for the scribe of the village. But the Radja knows always.

721 First the Radja denied that they had ever had
245 head-hunting here. He said then that he had heard
173 of it but that it had taken place a long long time ago. Then further he said that he had heard people say, "Sekarang musim potong kepala." [Now is the time to cut heads.] He says that they say this in Saparua too. The season for such activity evidently is the time of fruit plucking, that is of the cloves (and thus it is much like the post-harvest celebration elsewhere. Perhaps heads were required for feasts in the old days too.

000 The verified social organization is as follows:

A In general one can say that except for the
361 mountain kampongs that are rather rarely inter-
311 spersed, the coastal kampongs run up into the hills until they meet extensions of the coastal kampongs coming from the other side. This is because both parts of Ambon are peninsulas. In the wider parts, especially on Hitu, there are evidently areas of waste and unclaimed land.

621 There is no cosmological or magical meaning involved in the social organization of the area.

443 There is no market system at all. This is evidently restricted to western Indonesia.

431 There is no gift exchange between villages,
608 not even in the pela relationship.

N

115 Naku: I had almost forgotten to mention that
127 Gaspersz (the D.J. stands for Daniel Joseph) had undertaken to get me an assistant in his kampong, Naku. He is the radja there. This man appeared at the hotel, wearing an army khaki jacket, white shorts, and a Dutch army straw hat. He is a tall fellow with his hair in a bob, good looking in a mixed Papuan, proto-Malayan way. His hair is rather wavy. I took a photograph of him and gave it to him. He was astonished that it was developed "in a minute" and took it back to show other people. He had walked perhaps twelve kilometers up over the mountains to get here and was walking back. He is a farmer and admits not having had much education. Nevertheless, he drew a beautiful map in colored crayons. He had also tried to answer the schedule, which Gaspersz had given him, but had left a lot of the questions blank.

361 Naku is inland from the southeast coast of
621 Leitimor and has no road going to it. It is in
778 Naku Bay and one can get there from here via a
614 road to Latuhalat, then taking a prau to Naku Bay and walking uphill one kilometer. Otherwise

C E
624 614

| Official | Kampong | Clan |
|---|---|---|
| Marinyo | Paulohi | Upessi |
| Penatua (descendant of radjas) | | |
| --Pengurus Geredja | Paulohi | Laturiu |
| Penatua | Samasuru | Lohi |
| Manteri Tani | Paulohi | Laturiu |
| Marinyo Sekola | Samasuru | Hatane |
| Djongos Sekola | Paulohi | Upessi |
| Descendant of Radja Mailopu (f) | Samasuru | Mailopu (Maria) |
| Bidan (f) | Paulohi | Solifui (Mani) |
| Tuagama | Paulohi | Polhapessi |
| Tuagama | Paulohi | Upessi |
| Tuagama--Penunggu Geredja | Samasuru | Mairuhu |
| Samas | Paulohi | Laturiu |
| Samas--Pengurus Geredja | Paulohi | Talarima |
| Samas--Pengurus Geredja | Samasuru | Hatane |
| Kepala Agama Hindu | Pokolowoni | Rumasanahu (pagan, illiterate) |

A T
124 789 [527]

Tulehu: I began here again on Saturday, November 19. I asked first what the actual activities and duties of the tuan tanah were. It seems that he leads or led the great August 31 festivities, the high point of which was the boat races at Ambon. He is also a member of the saniri. He leads in all negri feasts as he knows exactly how things should be done. He is the one who calls the ancestors to feasts by blowing on the conch shell horn. If there is a football game between Tulehu and for example Waai or Ambon, the whole team first goes to the house of the tuan tanah and he does some guna-guna to make them lucky in their fight against the opponents. He also does reverse guna-guna against the guna-

T

423 178 land by individual men. Indeed, there is more of the latter than the former today! Thus we note a trend toward individualism. If the family dies out, its pusaka land goes to its dati. If the dati dies out, the dati dusun go to the negri. No kind of land can be sold. However, trees may be sold or rented. And the dati, with the consent of all members (anak dati) may rent dati land. Land may thus be owned by negri, fam (dati), family, or individual. Thus there are all kinds of property in land. Praus are individually owned. Houses are family owned and this is considered as pusaka. The 428 591 house always goes to the eldest son who moves his family in when he marries. Thus there are usually two families in such a house. Gani, an eldest son, lives with his father and mother. Other sons may also live there if everyone is happy. The eldest son, however, is boss. If the wife is an only child, or if she has no brothers, the husband may move in with her. Thus there is a kind of "matrilocal" residence in such a case.

463 There is no specialization connected with age, sex, family or clan.

768 There are no restrictions caused by death.

465 178 Perhaps not more that two per cent of the population work for wages, and there has been little change in the last half century in this regard.

443 563 The six toko in Tulehu are owned by Chinese, one Arab, and one local shopkeeper. There are no other local businesses.

A

624 769 124 Amahusu: I first asked about the tuan tanah and the other old offices. At present the tuan tanah (from Mainaki, the oldest fam) is a member of the saniri. He also calls the ancestors us-

A

624 ing a conch shell. The old man from Siloë said
769 that they still use the conch shell and that
124 the tuan tanah keeps old ones in his house.
These people are extremely scared to give anything that may appear to be pagan. The tuan
[789] tanah is also a feast leader, but they say there is absolutely no magic.

526 Amahusu no longer has a football team.

I finally got them to admit that the tuan
624 tanah will help one who has been harmed by
776 nitu, ancestral spirits or forest spirits, in
755 the woods. A person so afflicted may come to the tuan tanah and the latter will give him some water. I had great difficulty in getting this information, and Musila probably would not have given it, but the old man finally did. He agreed that this was the case probably because the local nitu are local spirits and the tuan tanah is an expert in all such matters. The tuan tanah is also an adat expert and is consulted in cases concerned with adat. The pusaka property,
[778] mainly old war paraphernalia, such as shields (salawaku) and spears, are kept in his house. These were used in the tjakalele before. Among these pusaka are also the conch shells.

624 The kapitan, a member of the saniri, has no special functions now. The present one is from Soplani.

The hereditary post of malessi, now functionless, is held by Mainaki.

There used to be two mauwen, one from Siloë and one from Mainaki.

623 The present saniri has nine members: the Radja, tuan tanah, kapitan, three kepala soa, and three elected members. At present two are kepala dati, although this needn't be so.

182 This strikes me as being a kind of lame negri. Maybe this is because the Radja is not so strong,

207 A
346 and hear the former when they are in Ambon.

178 There have been a few changes technologically
342 speaking in the last fifty years. There are
493 several zinc roofs in the community. Automobiles have now taken an everyday place in the life of Amahusu.

286 There is no weaving done at all and no memory
181 of weaving. One Amahusu man brought back an Aru wife and she had a backbar loom. Why don't these people learn, and make some pretty clothes? They are so dull. There is no spinning and no memory of spinning.

323 There are five potters, male and female.
326 There is good clay here. There is no smith and practically nothing else.

Canned meat and fish and milk have come in
262 in the last half century. The use of the first
178 two, especially in off seasons for fresh fish,
853 is notable. Children drink canned milk more than formerly, but it is hard to get without a doctor's prescription. Formerly, if a mother did not have enough milk, she got a wet nurse. Now this is not so much the case as they do not like to give or take milk to or from another.
[124] I couldn't quite get the reason for this. This old fellow is hard for me to understand. It can't be my Malay, because Musila is all right. Maybe the old man speaks Ambon Malay. Otherwise there has been not much change in the food situation.

244 There were many gardens fifty years ago, but
311 now there are very few. Then people supported
178 themselves to a large extent. Today they buy most of their food. They do not even use all the land that they have, and this is a great change.

178 Today they use shovels, hoes, forks, etc. He
412 is especially impressed by the use of forks.
[245] The digging stick was much used formerly. There is little Sago here.

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000 word!

624 Note: They have a peculiar expression here
554 for a post which has no real power any more.
192 They say it has no "harga" meaning worth. Thus the Tulehu Radja says that the Ambon Radjas have lost their harga, and an Amahusu man says that the tuan tanah post has no more harga.

596 These people are great for families, and
574 they love to have houses with lots of relatives.
527 Family feasts are the big things. The Tulehu
769 T
614 Radja says that the aroha feast is from arhwa which is the word used as arwa in Leitimor. It means ghosts, that is, of ancestors. They are supposed to attend at the feast. The Radja says that when the Lating rumatau has an aroha feast in Tulehu members come from all over by boat and bus to enjoy what is known as Lating day. He says that he must serve them like a servant, but this may be because Lating is the intermarrying clan with Wakang. This can't be pela, because if so there would be the marriage taboo.

Tulehu: I took the Radja's wife home from
● 124 Ambon. Yesterday I brought them both to Ambon where he had a meeting of the "commission" to study future relations of Ambon with Indonesia. It seems a bit late for this. I didn't get on-to the schedule as I had to go over the whole census, which is now complete. However, I did get to talk about a few things incidentally, especially marriage.

583 The bride price must be paid, and the lowest
836 price is fl. 100.00. For a virgin this runs up
435 to fl. 400.00 to fl. 500.00. I asked if virgins are so rare, and he said that they have them. I told about the Buginese horror at no virginity, and he said that this was not so here. I must ask for more information on this matter.

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587 dispose of personal property as she pleases.
428 Children get their father's anyway. For a widower inheritance of property and such relationships are easier as the system is patrilineal. A widow or widower remains on good
[606] terms with his in-laws. If there is a divorce, former in-laws are usually not friendly.

842 Children are desired by all. The people here are superstitious as to the possible causes of barrenness. The more children the better. They say that the more there are in the family the more there are to help in the gardens and to provide for those who have reached old age, etc. They do not yet have the idea of quality rather than quantity. They do have medicines used to prevent the birth of a child. The dukun and the old women know and tell the women how to make these. (They are probably no good.)

165 The average number of children per woman is
727 six, but only four of these survive. Gani thinks that women had more children formerly. During the Japanese time, he says, there were practically no children born, and many died. People were just not fertile then.

124 Note how much easier it is to work with this
154 Tulehu Mohammedan than with the Amahusu Christian. This is partly a personality difference, and Tulehu is a better place to work, but maybe also he is more open and not so scared to tell things I might consider pagan. The Christians are climbers and sensitive to a degree.

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583 Amahusu: Musila had to go to a cooperative
178 meeting, so Silooy helped me most of the time. I found out that Musila had given me the wrong information regarding bride prices, etc. Also, he had said that elopement was on the decline, but this proves not to be the case.

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584 for having sex relations, or (2) he may meet her
836 in the street and proposition her then. The boy doesn't refer to sex directly but rather asks her if she would like to be "engaged" to him. The Malay word is tunang. (I wanted the word
[124] for courtship [referring to his schedule] but the translator in Makassar wrote "betrothal." Still, maybe he is not so stupid, and the two concepts are the same in Malay.)

Anyway, if she agrees, the boy sneaks into her house late at night (incidentally, such dates are never made by visiting her house). There he gets into bed with her and has sexual intercourse with her. I asked about the other people who are sleeping there and he said yes, there are lots of them, but her sisters will not give her away as they will want to have boy friends in themselves. Thus there is a kind of secret conspiracy among young girls of the family. And evidently everyone in the girl's room will sometime be doing the same, so it is quite all right. It must be that the young girls see quite a lot of sexual activity on the part of their sisters. They must be very careful that the girl's father does not discover them as he would become angry. In fact, Gani said, he would like to kill the daughter under such circumstances, but evidently does not. I can't understand why this is so, because the fathers too must know that the girls do this, as they did it themselves with other girls in their youth. The brothers also resent such activity if they find out about it. And the mother also gets mad. But she is much easier because she is also a woman. She did it too. Anyway, if the father or mother or brothers discover such goings on, they may force the issue and the two may have to marry. If the girl becomes pregnant they must marry fast. The boy's family moves

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|---|---|
| Father, all uncles: | bapa (with uncles the personal name is added too). |
| Mother, all aunts: | mama, ibu (with aunts, personal names are added too). |
| All cousins: | adi (younger), kaka (older). |
| (Sibling terms same as those for cousins) | |
| Grandfather: | tete'. |
| Grandmother: | nene'. |
| Grandchild: | tjitji. |

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I asked about the name of Amahusu. He said that it comes from ama-bungsu. This means "father no more." There is a story about a man from Ceram (Saulahu) named Buyeratan, who had three brothers and one sister (again we see the five, and always one sister), but whose father was unknown or dead. He came along by raft to Amahusu, which was then unoccupied. He landed to the south at a rock and then went to the negri lama and lived alone for awhile. Then there was a war with Eri when the Pupella people (then named Sutella) came to the negri lama from Suli. There is a river here still called Air Pupella. Meanwhile Buyeratan had married a woman of Soya. (Why can't I understand these people
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speaking Malay? I have no trouble with the Tulehu folk. I got this story wrong probably, possibly because the Amahusu folk speak better and more complicated Malay. It may also be because it is their own language, the real Ambonese Malay, which they speak. I read that it is hard for an outsider who knows Sumatran Malay to understand. However, Tulehu folk who use Malay

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197 as a second language, are easily understood by
●124 me. Also, they learn Malay in school, and perhaps they learn the standard Malay which I understand.)

178 In answer to a question as to whether or not
581 there has been any change in the concept of the "suitable man or wife" in the last fifty years, my man from Amahusu said piously that the main thing is good conduct. They must be respectable. Beauty is secondary, and in fact it may be third in rank, as they also desire industry. They are really Dutch and seem to think very little about the looks of women.

848 Very few children are born out of wedlock here.
836 Perhaps there are one or two a year. (This seems to be a fair amount to me.) Usually such girls get a husband later. There is very little premarital sexual activity and most girls are virgins at marriage.

624 Note: There are four marinyo here. Three live in Naher and one in Westopong; none in Wakang.

583 After the couple has eloped they stay at the
585 man's house for one or two days. Then the woman
178 stays there for perhaps as long as twenty days. The pair sleep together and are regarded as married. When they are ready for a feast, it is held. Then they go to church and get married in a formal wedding ceremony and go to the radja in order to get registered. Following this there is a two-night feast. (Thus we see the remnants of free love here too. They are married and have sex relations before the church rite. And this is the usual thing. Thus tjara lari replaces the trial marriage of Tulehu.)

591 Residence is patrilocal first unless it is a case of tulung dati. Then, if the man is an oldest son, they remain in the father's home. If

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567 about the Isaac fam? How They say that they are not
614 slave descendants and other folk say that they are not too. I must ask the Radja. Also, are there any turunan burger. Silooy doesn't know. I will ask the Radja about this too. (It
● [124] would be better if I had the old Silooy man for an assistant.)

564 There is no group of outcasts in Amahusu.

463 The ambitions of the youth here are mainly
178 directed toward becoming clerks and soldiers.
871 Not very many of the people here want to become
554 teachers. There is a new trend noticeable in a few individuals for learning the telegraphist trade. I am told that all who learn how to become teachers are poorly paid, while the soldiers get plenty of free food and clothes and eventually a pension. The religious teachers get excellent pay, and here again the church is more important than the school. There is not much chance to rise in this negri.

554 There are no distinctive symbols of rank and
178 status. If one addresses the radja one usually
576 uses the term paduka. Formerly the term upu was used to address the tuan tanah, the kepala soa, and the kapitan.

293 The radja has a special hat and staff. The
178 former evidently has a kind of fringe and the
622 latter a silver head. Formerly he had a jacket
554 with a strip of fringe along the sleeves. He wears the white hat and carries the stick on special occasions.

624 The hierarchy of rank is as follows: radja,
554 three kepala soa, pastor, kepala kewang, gurus of the church, gurus of the school.

[554] Especially influential are the pastor and the
793 church gurus. They slay the folk here with
181 Bible quotations. I remember Rehatta telling
177 how he wanted to fire a preacher in Soya because

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778 The Saparua man says that he never heard that the Siwa batu had to be on the sea side of the baileo and the Lima batu on the land side.[1] He says the truth is that the Siwa batu has to be upright, perhaps one and one-half meters high, while the Lima batu is flat and low, hardly above the level of the ground.

273 The Mohammedans here make no palm wine.

342 Only the Butonese use pile houses.

178 When the local people build new houses they put coins under the main post. The Saparua lad says that this is true for Saparua too. He says that they probably used a head in former days. In Ceram a cocoanut may be used today.

When a new house is built a feast is held, but nothing else.

124 The Saparua man corrected my bahasa tanah list which Rehatta had given me with thirteen errors in it. Such a big mouth.

787 825 The Saparua man says indeed that Nusalaut is far off. He says that though it is adjacent to Saparua he knows very little about the adat there. The tui bird is an omen bird all over. For example, the Saparua man says it will come to the negri and tell the folk if one has had an accident in the garden.

291 177 Formerly, Mohammedan women wore a long kebaya. Now they do not. They have taken over largely the Javan style, and this is spreading to the Christians.

304 262 When a little girl's ears are bored, (and all little girls' ears are bored), she cannot eat oily food (for example, cocoanut) until the holes have healed.

304 178 They say that relatively few have their teeth evened down, but both of them do have theirs filed in that fashion. It is done with a stone. They believe that it is a new style and that it

[1] [Sacrificial stones of the Ulilima & the Ulisiwa; see p.371 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography, cat.113—Analyst]

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871 perhaps it is Hatalai). The children of the latter negri have to come to Naku for grades one to four. This is because there are not enough schools. And even at that they have only two hour sessions, eight to ten and eleven to one.

124 We then got ready to go and climbed down the terrific path to the beach. There the old fisherman said that we could not go because the waves were too high. I was discouraged but had to climb up again. Joseph climbed up a coconut tree [272] and got a drink for us. These lads can do anything. Then there was the awful climb to the top. After eating we talked before going to sleep, with the children and others as usual listening outside in the dark.

227 The next morning at 7:30 we reached the beach after an awful descent and went by prau to Latuhalat, making it in two and one-half hours. On the way, as usual, there was a delay while we pulled up a big fish trap, of a plaited type, in order to get fish for Gaspersz to take back to Ambon. Most fishing here is evidently done by traps. They also use lines and spears. There is a great deal of use made of homemade goggles which are used by divers with spears. The fish we got were mainly red and small.

778 713 422 At Latuhalat I asked about the "gold crocodile" mentioned in the books as the special pusaka of Latuhalat. The Radja said that it was not so and took us to his father's house. There we went up to the attic and there under many cloths, like the aradjang of Celebes, was a long slim brass cannon, with a naga shaped mouth. This is the "buaya mas" and shows how wrong hearsay can be. The Radja says it was used in the war and could kill twelve men at one shot. It is kept by the kepala soa Lekatompessi, and few of the people even in this negri have seen it. For example,

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778 Musila, a Latuhalat man, had never seen this, and
713 he had lived for weeks in the old man's house
422 with it in the attic over him. He never knew
about it. He was surprised.

• 124 Then we went to Ambon and finished up the Naku trip. In the afternoon I went to Amahusu. The next morning I went to Tulehu. Neither of the assistants has finished. The assistant in Tulehu will mail me the material, I hope. The Radja finally came out with what he wants: twelve meters of gray cloth from the United States. I said I would send it. He has certainly spent a lot on me for entertainment.

619 In Naku they seem to know nothing about Siwa and Lima.

262 They have only a little corn, but plenty of kanari nuts.

871 Joseph said he was trying to propagandize
185 the Butonese to make them send their children to
563 school. They say that they will think about it. The new law goes into effect here next year and then they must go. (But if the fees must be paid too, what then?)

844 They check mostly on the information about
846 pregnancy, but not so much as in Soya. Also, they burn damar for seven days and nights over the placenta burial place. Some families throw the placenta into the sea. The mother, after delivery, cannot leave the house for forty days. Also she is over the fire[1] for forty days, but only for a little while each day.

776 They have plenty of beliefs regarding suwanggi, nitu, etc., and in this respect they have more than most places here.

665 Ambon: The young Ambonese are mostly PIM, but
578 with the reservation that they want peace and
593 order too. However, the older ones are not so aggressive and this results in much intrafamilial

[1] [i.e., refers to Malay custom of "mother roasting"--Analyst]

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624 Note: There should also be a kepala dati from Saliha, Pupella, and Akiaar.

829 Twelve people here can draw a map of Ambon Island, Indonesia, and the world. They are all in their twenties, except the teacher who is fifty. They are all men except one who is a woman clerk.

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| | Fam | |
|---|---|---|
| Silooy | 120 (dati) | |
| Matitaputi | 60 (dati) | |
| Nussi | 50 | |
| Mainake | 56 (dati) | |
| Tomasila | 42 | |
| Da Costa | 33 (dati) | |
| Ferdinandus | 32 (dati) | There are 49 |
| Soplanit | 31 (dati) | other fam names |
| Lecatompessi | 30 | with 89 members. |
| Musila | 29 | These are all |
| Saliha | 20 (dati) | Ambonese. Note |
| Pupella | 16 (dati) | the spread of |
| Isaac | 16 | fam. |
| Tahalele | 15 | |
| Waas | 12 | |
| Nunumete | 11 | |
| Nanlohi | 9 | |
| Maspaitella | 7 | |
| Gommis | 7 | |
| Latumeten | 7 | |
| Akiaar | 1 (dati) | |

582 Marriages show a complete scatter, but evidently
●124 there is no endogamy. There are seven cases that
614 might be, and I am sending a letter to ask if he merely forgot to put in the woman's maiden name.

848 There are nine women who seem to have children
124 out of wedlock, but this must be wrong. I think he forgot to get the names straight. I will write about this too.